

Conversion to Loyalty,
OR THE
SUBJECTS
DUTIE.

Wherein is proved that resisting or de-
posing of Kings (under what specious preten-
ces soever couched) is utterly unlawfull.

Collected by D.O. i.e David Owen

Dedicated to all dutifull Subjects.



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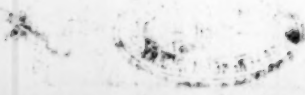
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To the dutifull Subject.



He *Puritan-Church-Policie*, and the
Iesuitical Society began together :
* the one in *Geneva*, 1536. and a See M.
Hookers pre-
face. And
the preface
of Chemn's
before his
ex-men a-
gainst the
first part of
the Coun-
cell of
Trent.
Lib. 1. 7.
Mat. 23. 15
the other in *Rome*, 1537. since
their beginning, they have be-
stirred themselves busily (*as he*
that compasseth the Earth, or they
that coasted sea and land) each one
in his order. The *Puritan* to breake downe the wall of
Sion, by disturbing the peace of the *Reformed Church* : the
Iesuite to build up the ruines of *Babylon*, by maintaining
the abomination of the *deformed Synagogue*. These
(though brethren in sedition and heady) are *head-seve-*
red, the one staring to the *Presbytery*, and the other to the
Papacy, but they are so fast linked behind, and *tayle-tyed*
together with *firebrands* betweene them, that if they be
not quenched by the power of Majesty, they cannot
chose (when the meanes are fitted to their plot) but set
the *Church* on fire, and the *state* in an uprore. Their *ma-*
ny and long prayers, their *much vehement preaching*, and
stout opposition against *orders established*, their shew of
austerity in their conversation, and of singular learning
in their profession, (*as the evil fiend transformed into an an-*
gell of light) brought them first to admiration Whereby
they have not only *robbed widowes houses* under pretence
of prayer, & ransacked their *seduced disciples* by shew of

To the dutifull Subject.

2 Thel. 2. 3, 4:

a K. Henry 8.

K. James.

Th: Craumer.

Is. whigift.

Rich. Bancroft.

Archb. of Cant.

Henry Earle of

Northampton.

Robert Earle of

Salisbury.

devotion, but also battered the *courts of Princes*, by animating the *Peers* against *Kings*, and the *people* against the *Peeres* for pretended *reformation*. And whereas God hath inseparably annexed to the *Crown of earthly Majesty*, a *supreme Ecclesiastical sovereignty* for the protection of *piety* and an absolute *immunity* from the juditiall *sentence*, and *Martiall violence*, for the preservation of *policie*: These sectaries bereave *Kings* of both these their *Princely prerogatives*, exalting themselves (as the sonne of perdition) above all that is called *God*: Least they might seeme *sine ratione insanire*, to sow the seeds of *Sedition* without shew of reason, *Cædem faciunt Scripturarium* (as the heretikes in *Tertullians* time were wont to do) *in materiam suam*, they kill the *Scripture* to serve their turnes: and pervert the holy *Word of the eternall God*, by strange interpretation, and wicked application against the meaning of the *Spirit*, by whom it was penned; the *Doctrine of the Church*, to whom it was delivered; and the practice of all the *Godly*, (as well under the *Law* as the *Gospel*, that did beleve, understand, and obey it, to maintaine their late, and lewd opinions. I have in my hand above forty several places of the old and new Testament, which both the brethren of the enraged opposite faction do differently quote, and seditiously apply, in defence of their dangerous opposition, and damnable error, against the *Ecclesiasticall supremacy*, and the *indeleble character of royal inunction*. Vnto the which places, falsely expounded, perverted and applied, I have added the interpretation, of the learned *Protestants* since the time of *Martin Luther*, who began to discover the nakednesse of the *Romish Church*, 1517. More especially insisting in the ^a most mighty

To the dutifull Subject.

mighty Kings, the most reverend Prelats, honourable The L. Burleigh
 Lords, loyall Clergy and other worthy men, that have L. Treasurer of
 in the *Church of England*, learnedly defended the Prin- England,
 cely right, against disloyall and undutifull opponents: The L. Elsmere.
 I protest in all sincerity, that I have not detorted any L. Chancellor of
 thing, to make either the *cause* it selfe, or the *favourers* The L. Siofford
 of it more *odious*, than their own words, (published The L. Cooke.
 with the general approbation of their severall favorits) B. Jewell;
 do truly infer and necessarily inforce. I hope the loyall B. Horne.
 Subject, and *Godly* affected, will accept in good part my B. Pilkington.
 endeavour, and industry, intended for the glory of God, B. Elmore.
 the honor of the *King*, and the discovery of the *sediti-* B. Couper.
ous. The displeasure of the *Malecontented-faction* B. Bilson.
 (which can no more abide the truth, then the owles B. Babington.
 can light, or the frantique the Physitian) I neither re- B. Andrews.
 gard nor care for. Farewell. B. Barlow.
 B. Bridges.

D. Wilkes. D. Morton. D. Tooke. M. Bekinsaw. M. Foxe. M. Nowell. M. Hooker, and
 many others, D. Saravia.
 D. Cosins.
 D. Sutcliffe.
 D. Prythergh.

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| | { | Sedition of | { | Papists | { | Puritan-Jesuitisme, or the generall consent of the principall Puritans and Iesuits, against Kings, from the yeare 1536, untill the yeare 1602, out of the most authentique Authors. | |
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*The first Chapter proveth by the testimony
of Scripture, that Kings are not
punishable by man, but reserved
to the Judgement of
GOD.*

KINGS have their Authority from God ^a, and are ^aRom. 13.1
his Vicegerents in earth ^b, to execute justice and ^bPro. 8.15.
judgement for him amongst the tonnes of Men ^c. ^c2 Chron.
All Subjects (as well Prelates and Nobles, as the in- ¹⁹ 6.
feriour people) are forbidden with the *tongue*, to re-
vile Kings ^d, with the *heart*, to thinke ill of them ^e, ^dEcc. 10.12;
or with the *hand*, to resist them ^f. The great King of Heaven ^g
doth impart his owne Name unto his **LIEUTENANTS** ^eEcc. 10.20
the Kings of the Earth: and calleth them *Gods*, with an *ego dixi* ^g, ^fRom. 13.2
Whose Word is *Yea* and *Amen*: with this only difference, that ^h
these *Gods* shall dye like men ^h, and fall like other Princes. Where- ^hPsal. 82.7
fore *Nathan* the man of God, must reprove *David* ⁱ, that he may re- ⁱ2 Sam.
pent, and be saved. And the Sages, Iudges, and Nobles, (without ¹² 7.
feare or flattery) must advise and direct *Roboam* ^k. Other attempts ^k1 Reg. 12.
against Kings, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his ⁷
Law, nor permitt:ed in his Gospel. *David* (saith *Ambrose*) nullus ^l
Legibus tenebatur, &c. *David* though he were an Adulterer, and an ^{Apolog.}
Homicide, was tyed to no Law: for Kings are free from bonds, ^{David cap.}
and can by no compulsion of Law, be drawn to punishment, being
freed by the power of Government. Thus far *Ambr.*

Saul the first King of *Israel* was rather a monster, than a man: after the spirit of God had forsaken him, & the evil spirit was come upon him ^m. There were not many sins against God, Man, or Na- ¹ Sam.
ture, wherein he transgressed not; yet his excoise was punished, ²⁶ 14.
neither

neither by the Sacerdotall Synod, nor the secular Senate : *Who can lay his hand on the Lords Anointed, and be guiltlesse* ^a? The very Anointment was the caule of Sauls immunity from all humane coercion : as *Augustine* affirmeth, *Quero si non habebat, Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo David venerabatur*? If *Saul* had not the holinesse of the Sacrament, I aske what it was that *David* revered in him ; he honoured *Saul* for the sacred and holy unction, while he lived : and revenged his death. Yea, he was troubled and trembled at the heart, because he had cut off a lappe of *Sauls* garment. Lo, *Saul* had no innocency, and yet he had holinesse : not of life, but of unction. So far *Augustine*.

Who questioned *David* for his murther and adultery? who censured *Salomon* for his idolatry? though their crimes were capitall by the Law of God. After that Kingdome was divided, all the Kings of *Israel*, and most of the Kings of *Judah*, were notorious Idolaters : yet during those Kingdomes, which endured above 200 years, no Priest did challenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish or depose their Princes. And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, whose impiety they reprov'd with the losse of their lives,

Christ fled when the people would have made him a King ^a. He payed tribute for himselfe and *Peter* ^b. When the question was propounded concerning the *Emperours* Subsidy, he concluded for *Caesar* ^c. And standing to receive the judgement of death before *Pilate*, he acknowledged his power to be of God ^d, This *Saviour* of *Mankind*, whose actions should be our instruction, did never attempt to change that Government, or to displace those Governours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of information that he aymed at.

Iohn Baptist did indeed reprove King *Herod* with a *Non licet* ^e, but he taught not the Souldiers to leave his service, or by strife and impatience, to wind themselves out of the band of allegiance, wherein the Law had left them, and the Gospell found them ^f.

The Apostle delivered unto the Church the Doctrine of obedience and patience, which they had learned by the Precept, and observed by the practise of our Lord *Christ*. *Peter* commandeth obedience to all manner of men in Authority ^g. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power ^h, And *S. Iude* maketh it blasphemy, to revile Government, or to speake evill of Governours ⁱ. *If therefore an Angell from heaven preach otherwise, than they have delivered, let him be accursed* ^k.

^a 1 Sam. 16
9.

Aug. contr.
lit. Petil. 4. 2
c. 48.

^a Joh. 6. 15
^b Mat. 17.
27.
^c Mat. 22.
21.
^d Joh. 19.
15.

^e Mar. 6. 18

^f Luk. 3. 14

^g 1 Pet. 2.
15.
^h Rom. 13.
1. 2. 3. 4.
i Iude 8.
^k Gal. 1. 8.

The second Chapter prooveth the same by the Fathers of the first 300 yeares.

THe true Church, which had the Spirit of understanding, to discern the voyce of *Christ*, from the voyce of a *stranger*, never taught, never practised, never used or approved other weapons, than salt teares, and humble prayers against the *Paganisme*, *Heresie*, *Apostacy* and *Tyranny* of earthly Kings.

Iustinus Martyr, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, shall beare witnessse for 300 yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of the earth, bathed themselves in the blood of innocents, and professed enmity against *Christ* and his servants.

Ad inquisitionem vestram, Christianos nos esse profiteamur, &c. At your inquisition we professe our selvs to be Christians, though we know death to be the guerdon of our profession (saith *Iustin Martyr* to the Emperor *Antonius*) did we expect an earthly kingdom, we would deny our Religion, that escaping death, we might in time attain our expectation: But we feare not persecution, which have not our hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certainly perswaded that we must dye. As for the preservation of publike peace, we Christians yeeld to you (O Emperor) more help and assistance, than other men. For we teach, that no evill doer, no covetous man, nor seditious that lyeth in wait for blood, can have accessse to God: And that every man doth passe to life or death, according to the merit of his deeds. Thus far he.

We (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula* the Viceroy of *Carthage*) are defamed, for seditious against the Imperiall Majesty: Yet were the Christians never found to be *Albinians*, *Nigrians*, or *Cassians* (*Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius* were traitors against *Marcus Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Pertinax* and *Severus* the Emperors) but they that sweare by the Emperors deity, the very day before; they that vowed & offered sacrifice for the Emperor's health, are found to be the Emperor's enemies. A Christian is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Emperor: knowing, that the Imperiall Majesty, is ordained of God, and therefore necessarily to be loved, revered, and honored, whose prosperity, together with the welfare of all the *Roman Empire* they desire so long as the world standeth. We do therefore honour the Emperor, in such sort, as is lawfull for us, and expedient for him: we reverence him as a mortall man, next unto God, of whom he holdeth all his authority, only subject to God, and so we make him,

soveraigne our all, in that, we make him subject, but to God alone :
So far *Terrentian*.

S. Cyprian sheweth many good reasons, for the patience of the Saints, in his book against *Demetrianus*. God (saith he) is the revenger of his servants, when they are annoyed. Wherefore no Christian when he is apprehended, doth resist or revenge himself against your unjust violence, though the number of our people be very great. The confidence we have, that God will reward, doth confirm our patience, the guiltlesse give way to the guilty, the innocent rest content with their undeserved punishment and tortures, being certainly assured that the wrong done to us, shall not be unrewarded. The more injury we suffer, the most just and grievous shall God's vengeance be on them that persecute us. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which comed own from Gods indignation, do not come through us poore persecuted Christians, but from him whom we serve, for the wrong done unto us. So far *Cyprian*.

Ioh 19.15
Iohn 8.22
Luk. 23. 11
Mar. 15. 15
Mat. 27. 27
28, 29.

As many as lived according to Christ's institution, did never revile the government of Tyrants, much lesse by force resist their violence, following the patience of Christ, who could by his own power, the might of his Angels, or the strength of his creatures, have at the first withstood, or at the last revenged, the injury of the people, the buffet of the Priests servant, the scorn of *Herod*, the judgment of *Pilate*, and the violence of the souldiers. He yeelded himselfe patiently to death, to teach all his Disciples, that an injury done by authority, is patiently to be endured, not forcibly to be repelled. As soon also as *Paul* became a Christian, his seditious and bloody spirit, which he had learned of the Pharisees, was changed into a desire of peace and quietnesse. He honored the heathen Magistrates, as *Agrippa*, *Felix* and *Lisius*, ratifying his doctrine, by the practise of his life. I know that Cardinall *Alane*, Cardinall *Bellarmin*, *Ficlerus*, *Simancha*, and other upholders of the Papall tyranny, that *Stephanus Iunius*, *Franciscus Hottomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*, and other pillars of the Puritan anarchy, do answer, that the Church then, as it were swathed in the bonds of weaknesse, had not strength sufficient to make powerfull resistance. But these *Fathers* that then lived, do convince them, and all other sectaries of falshood, by making demonstration of the strength and potency of the godly Christians, in case they would have put their forces to the strongest proofe. Seeing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Consistories, Cities, and countrey Villages, were stored and furnished with men of that profession and quality, as doth most evidently appeare
by

by the words of *Tertullian*, in his Apologetical defence of the Christians; *Una nox pauculis faculis*, &c. One night with a few firebrand, would yeel us sufficient revenge, if it were lawfull for us to requit evill for evill. But God forbid, that Christians should either revenge themselves with humane fire, or be grieved to suffer that wherewith they are tried. Were we disposed, not to practise secret revenge, but to profess open hostility, should we want number of men, or force of Armes? Are the *Moores*, or the *Parthians*, or any one nation whatsoever, more in number than we, that are spread over all the World? We are not of you, and yet we have filled all the places and rooms which you have. Your Cities, Islands, Castles, Towns, Assemblies, your Tents, Tribes, and Wards; yea, the Imperiall Pallace, Senate and seats of Iudgment. For what war, were not we able & ready, though we were fewer in number than you, that go to our Martyrdom so willingly? If it were not more lawfull in our Religion to be slaine, than to slay? We could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, do you displeasure enough, even with our separation. For if to great a multitude, as we are should break out from you, in any other corner of the world, the losse of so many citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare to see your selves left solitary, even amazed, as among the dead. You should then see silence and desolation every where. You would have many more enemies than inhabitants. Whereas now, you have fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your citizens that are almost all Christians. *Hac Tertullianus.*

We see by these three witnesses, that the Church of God, in the first 300 years wanted, neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to have established the Christian Faith, if that course had been lawfull: but because their Lord had given them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to be crowned Martyrs for their Religion, than to be punished as traitors for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Church (thinke you) the next 300 years after it had been backed by Princes, defended by Laws, provoked by Honorable favors to profess Christianity? Yet all that while the servants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostasie, Heresie, or Tyranny: but yeelded their lives with all submission, though they wanted neither means nor multitude, convenient for any wars, as the next chapter by impregnable demonstration shall shew.

The third Chapter prooveth by the Fathers of the second 300, years, that the pleasure of Princes must be endured with patience, when their decrees cannot be obeyed with a good Conscience.

THe next 300 yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie and Tyranny, to the glorious tryall of their Faith, and the eternall reward of their Patience. Whereof wee have a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hosius, Liberius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilus Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Optatus Milevitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo* the first, and *Gregory* the great.

Hosius was a famous Confessor in the Church, before *Constantine* the great, a worthy Bishop during that Emperors raigne, and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea even of *Constantinus* the *Arrian* Emperour himselfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conversation. When this worthy Prelate, was commanded by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, he returned to the Imperiall Majesty, this stout, constant, Christian and duttfull answer; *Ego confessionis munus implevi primum, cum persecutio moveretur, ab avo tuo Maximiniano*: I was then a confessor when your grandfather *Maximian* persecuted the Church. And if you do now raise persecution, I am ready to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blood. I do not like your manner of writing against *Athanasius*; Cease from it, be not of the *Arrian* opinion; Give no care to the Eastern Bishops: beleeve me rather, that for age might be your grandfather. Leave off, I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of Iudgment. Enterpose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the Ecclesiasticall service, neither command us in this kind to condemne the innocent; but learn rather of us. God hath entrusted your Majesty with the Empire, and committed unto us the service of the Church: he that with an envious eye maligneth your Imperiall Sovereignty, contradicteth the ordinance of God. Take heed (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guilty of grievous transgression. It is written, *Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and to God the things that appertaine to God*: it is

*Obsequere
et scribe
contra A-
thanasium
qui enim
contra il-
lum scribit
ille plane no-
bis cum, &c.*

*Hosius a-
pud Athan-
as solitari-
am vitam
agentes.*

is therefore, neither lawfull for us Priests to usurpe your Kingdome; nor for you Prince:s, to meddle with the sacred service and sacrifices of the Church. Thus far *Hosius*.

You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood upon: rather resolved to suffer any death or torture, than by his consent to betray the truth, or to condemne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reprooveth sharply, he offereth his life to the Prince's pleasure: It was far from his meaning, to revile the sacred Majesty, or to stir up any rebellion against this Hereticall Emperor, which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without all regard of truth or equity, to serve the humors of the *Arrians*, and to wreak his anger on them all, which yielded not to that Heresie.

Liberius, a Bishop of *Rome*, did neither excommunicate nor depose this wicked Emperour *Constantius*, but appeared at his command, and endured his pleasure, to the admiration of the *Arrians* and the confirmation of the Christians, as we find in *Athanasius*, *Trahitur Liberius ad Imperatorem*, &c. *Liberius* was haled to the Emperor, when he came to his presence, he spake freely, Cease (saith he) O Emperor, to persecute the Christians, go not about by any meanes, to bring hereticall impiety into the Church of God: We are ready, rather to endure any torture, than to be called *Arrians*. Compell us not to become enemies unto Christ. Fight not against him (we beseech you) that hath bestowed the Empire upon you. Render not impiety to him for his grace, persecute them not which beleeve in him, least you heare, *it is hard for thee to kicke against the pricke*. Oh would to God you did so heare it, that you might (as *Paul* did) beleeve it. Lo we are at hand, and come to your presence, before our enemies the *Arrians* can invent any thing to informe against us, we hastened to come at your command, though we were assured of banishment: that we might abide our punishment, before any crime could be objected, much lesse proved against us. Whereby it may appeare, that all Christians are (as we now be) undeservedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true, but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilty.

Liberius
quo supra
apud Atha-
nas.

AGS 9.5.

Thus spake *Liberius*, and every man admired his resolution; but the Emperour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus far he.

Pope *Liberius* had not learned the language of his successor *Pius Quintus*, when hee bellowed against our late Queene, nor that principle of the *Puritans*, that the inferi-

our officer may use force of armes against the chiefe Magistrate that shall become a tyrant (*whereof every seditious sectary will be judge*) and not only defend himselfe and his own people, but also any other that shall fly unto him. Which opinion *Lambertus Dananus* avoucheth, contrary to the Law, the Gospel and the generall consent of all Orthodoxall Fathers.

*Politia
Christ. lib. 6
cap. 3.*

*Hilarius ad
Imper. Constant.*

Hilarius, a Bishop of France, wrote the same time to this same Emperor in most humble manner, *Benefica natura tua domine beatissime Auguste*: Your milde nature, most blessed Emperor, agreeing with your gracious disposition, and the mercy which floweth abundantly from the fountain of your fatherly godlinesse, do assure us, that we shall obtaine our desire. We beseech you, not only with words, but also with ~~teares~~, that the Catholique Churches, be no longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intollerable persecutions, and contumelies, and that (which is most shamefull) even of our brethren. Let your Clemency provide, &c.

Surely, if it had then been known that the *Pope*, by his absolute power or indirect authority, could have punished or deposed Kings, which the *Papists* avouch, or for the Peeres or the People to have done it, which the *Puritans* affirme, some of these old Bishops would have pressed that point against this hereticall Prince, which abuted his sword to the blaspheming of Christ, the murdering of the Saints, the seducing of many thousand soules: by strenghtning, maintaining and establishing the *Arrian* error. But they took it to be no Christian mans part, to beare armour (no not defensive) against his Prince, though never so wicked, cruell or ungodly.

Holy *Athanasius* confesseth the power of Kings to bee of God, and their impiety not to be punished by man. *Sicut in toto mundo Deus Rex est Imperator & potestatem exercet in omnibus*: As God is King and Emperor over all the World, and exerciseth his power in all creatures: so the King and Prince is over all earthly men, and doth by his absolute power what he will, even as God himself. *Hec ille.*

*Ad Anti-
och. quest.
55.*

*Apolog. A-
than. ad
Constant.*

When it was objected against this reverend Father *Athanasius*, that he had incensed *Constant* the religious Emperor of the West, against *Constantinus*, in the behalfe of the persecuted Christians: he cleared himself from that accusation, in an Apology to the said Emperor *Constantinus*. The Lord, saith he, is my record, and his appointed your brother, that I never made mention of your Majesty for any evil before your brother of blessed memory, that religious Emperor *Constant*. I did never incite him against you, as the *Ar-*

rians

rians do slander me, but whensoever I had access unto him, I recounted your gracious inclination. God knoweth what mention I made of your godly disposition. Give me leave and pardon, most courteous Emperor, to speake the truth. The servant of God *Consians* was not easily drawn to give care to any man in this kind. I was never in such credit with him, that I durst speake of any such matter, or derogate from one brother before another, or talke reproachfully of one Emperor, in the hearing of another. I am not so madde, neither have I forgotten the voyce of God, which saith, *Curse not the King in thine heart, and backbite not the mighty in the secrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the winged fowle shall bewray thee.* If then, the things that be spoken in secret against Princes cannot be hid: Is there any likelihood, that I in the Emperor's presence and before so many, as continually attended his person, would say any thing other wise then well of your Majesty? Thus far *Athanas.*

This is sounder and seemelier doctrine for Subjects, than that which *Henry Garnet* and *Robert Tesmond*, taught some *Romish* Catholicke Gentlemen of *England*, who imployed *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, in the month of *December*, Anno Dom. 1601, to make request to the *Spanish* King, in the behalfe and names of the *English* *Pope-Catholiques*, that he would send an army hither into *England*, for the advancement of their *Catholicke* cause; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists* here should be ready to do him service against the late *Queen*.

The selfe same doctrine of sedition was published in the yeare after, viz. Anno Dom. 1602, by *Guilielmus Bucanus*, a man of no mean esteeme among the *Puritans*, and that at the earnest request of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, the chiefe Ministers of the Church of *Geneva*, (if the Author himselfe belye them not) whose words are as followeth: *Subditi: si publica & manifesta seditio, licet fieri supplices, implorare auxilia ab aliis, & suscipere eorum defensionem aliis Regibus licet:* Subjects when they endure publique and manifest wrong, may lawfully become suppliants to foraign States, and crave their ayd against their Princes, and other Kingsought to take upon them their defence and protection. So far *Bucan.*

Subjects must square their subjection, according to the rule of Gods Word, not after the affection and fancies of men. *a Saul com- 18.* *manded Doeg* to murder 85 Priests, to destroy their City, men, women and children with the edge of the sword. Did *David* for whom they were slain, when he had *Saul* in his power, take re-
ferred

L Cook in
his speech
at Garnets
arraigne-
ment.

Loc. com.
Theol.

loco. 77.p.
845.

a 1 Sam. 22

venge, or suffer his servants to do it, when they were ready and offered themselves to slay *Saul*? *David*^b defiled *Urias* his bed, and caused him to be killed: Did *Absolon* well, to conspire against him, that was both a murderer and an adulterer? *Salomon*^c brought into the land many strange wives, and as many different Religions into the Church: Did the high Priest, the Peeres, the Prophets, or the people offer to chastise or depose him? *Achab*^d suffered *Jezebel* to put *Naboth* to death, and to kill the Lords Prophets: Did *Elias* depose him, intice his subjects to rebell against him, or implore for aigne aide to destroy him? *Herod*^e beheaded *John Baptist*, kill'd *James*, imprisoned *Peter*, and would have slain him also, if he had not been delivered by an Angell: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *Herod*, which he might have done with a word, as wel as on *Ananias*? No, he did leave him to the Lord, whose iudgment insued in most fearefull manner. In a word, wicked Princes have never been lawfully punished by Prelates, Potentates, or people of their Kingdome, as the *Papists* and *Puritans* aver; but must be reserved to the judgement of God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

Basilus magnus.

Gregory Nazianzen, in his Oration at the funerall of *S. Basil*, reporteth, that the Emperor's Deputy in *Pontus*, commanded *S. Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken sanctuary to save her selfe from forced marriage. The Bishop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall Laws granted by the Imperial Majesty) refused so to do. The Governor call the Bishop before him, threatned to whip him, and to teare his flesh with iron hooks; the people hearing that indignity offered to the Bishop, fell to an uprore, and would have staine the Lieutenant, had not that innocent man of God, with much ado, staid that furious tumult, & delivered his persecutor from that perill, to whose pleasure he did afterward submit himselfe.

Monodia Nazian, in- ter opuscula Basil, fol 95

The same *Nazianzen*, for his admirable learning called the *Divine*, writeth of *Julian* the Apostata-Emperor's death: *Julian* was punished by the mercy of God, thorough the teares of Christian men; which teare: were many, and shed of many, for that they had no other remedy, against that persecutor. Thus saith *Nazianzen*.

2 Orat. cont. Julian

This godly father lived under five Emperors, *Constantinus*, *Julianus*, *Valens*, *Valentinianus* and *Theodosius*, in all which time, he could finde no remedy against the Tyranny, Heresy and Apostasy of Princes, beside prayers and teares: The Devill of Hell had not as yet hatched the distinctions of *proprie* and *improprie*, *directe* and *indirecte*, *simpliciter* and *secundum quid*, *absolue* & *inordine ad spiritualia*, wherewith the *Iesuites* do fill the schooles with clamorous evasions,

evasions, the Church with erroneous superstition, and many Christian states with tragick sedition.

Lucifer Calaritanus, in sundry books against *Constantinus*, useth many immodest and disloyall speeches: but he perswaded not the Pope to depose him, the state to punish him, the people to rebell against him, or forraigne aide to suppress him; but threatened him with the dreadfull punishment of God. He that (in the fervency of zeale) durst call so cruell an Emperor, *Tbeef, Church-robber, Murderer, Beast, Hangman, Heretique, Apostata, Idolator, the fore-runner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe*, would surely have encouraged the Pope, the Peeres, or the people, to have removed that evil King, and placed a better in his stead: If there had been any such opinion in those daies, as our moderne *Jesuites* and *Paritans* beare now the World in hand. As this Father in his writings kept not the modesty of the other Fathers, which lived in that age under *Constantinus*: so he did not continue in the unity of the Catholique Church. *Lucifer* (saith *Ambrose*) divided himself from our Communion, though he were banished with us for our Religion.

Orat. in obitu fratris Sedit.

When *Ambrose* was commanded, to deliver up his Church in *Millaine* to *Maxentius* an *Arrian* Bishop, he declared his resolution in a sermon to the people, which were very sory for his departure. *Quid turbamini? volens nunquam vos deseram*: Why are you troubled? I will never willingly depart from you. If I be compelled, I have no way to resist: I can sorrow, I can weep, I can sigh, my teares are my weapons against Souldiers, Armour, Gothes: such is the munition of a Priest; by any other meanes than teares, I neither ought nor can resist. So far *Ambrose*.

Orat. Ambrosii ad populum inter epist. 32. 33.

Not disability but duty, not want of strength and martial forces, but a reverend regard of the Emperors Majesty, commanded by the Law of God, kept this blessed *Ambrose* from resisting. For he might easily have wrought the Churches liberty, his own safety, and the *Arrians* calamity, by the overthrow of the Emperour, through the force of the Garison in that City, which refused to attend the Prince to any other Church than that wherein *Ambrose* was. The stout and peremptory answer of the Captaines and Souldiers, is thus reported by *Ambrose* in an Epistle to *Mercellina*, a religious woman. *Si prodire vellet haberet copiam se praesto futuros*: *Epist. 35.* The Emperor may go at his pleasure, they would be ready to attend him, if he would go to the Catholique Assemblies, or otherwise, they would keep on their way to that Congregation wherein *Ambrose* was. Thus far the Souldiers.

They

They refused (as you see) to obey, and preferred God's true Service, before the Emperor's favour: they reviled not his sacred person, they resisted not his Sovereign power, but yielded themselves to his mercy and pleasure, to save their soules from Gods wrath and displeasure, as we find in the same Epistle, *Unum Iob miraturus ascenderam*, I went to Church to extoll the patience of Iob, where I found every one of my hearts, a Iacob, worthy to be extolled. In every one of you, Iob is revived; in each of you his patience, and vertue shined; what could be said better by Christian men, than that which the Holy Ghost this day spake in you? We beseech (O Emperor) we offer not to fight, we feare not to dye, we intreat your clemency. Oh it was seemely for Christian Souldiers, to desire the tranquillity of Peace and Faith, and to be constant in truth, even unto death. Thus far *Ambrose*.

S. *Augustin* relateth the same of the Christian Souldiers, under *Julian* the Apostata Emperor: *Julianus exiit Imperator infidelis*, Julian was an unbeleeving Emperor, was he not an Apostata? An Oppressor and an Idolater? Christian Souldiers served that unbeleeving Emepor: When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that was in Heaven: when they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their prince. But when he called upon them to war, and bad them invade any Nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall King, yet they submitted themselves to their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall King. So far he.

August: in
Psal. 114.

Deschiism.
Donatist.
lib. 3.

Optatus Milevitanus, is another pregnant witnesse: *Cum super Imperatorem nemo sit nisi solus Deus*. Seeing there is no man above the Emperor, beside God alone, which made the Emperor; *Donatus*, by advancing himselfe above the Emperour, doth exceed the bounds of humanity, and maketh himself a God rather than man, in that he feareth and reverenceth him not, whom all men should honor, next after God. So far *Optat*.

Com. in E-
vang. Ioh. 1.
12. c. 36.

S. *Cyrl* is of the same judgment. *Cui legis prevaricatores liberare licet nisi Legis ipsius auctori?* Who can acquit them that break the Law, from transgression, beside the Law-giver? As we see by experience, in all humane States, no man can without danger breake the Law, but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of prevarication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one, that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a King, *Thou doest amisse*. So far he.

In Epist. ad
Timoth.
c. 2. v. 1.

And also S. *Chrysostome*. What caneth the Apostle, saith he, to require Prayers & Supplications, Intercessions and Thanksgiving,

to be made for all men? He requireth this to be done in the dayly service of the Church, and the perpetuall rite of Dive Religion. For all the faithfull do know, in what manner prayers are powred out before the Lord morning and evening, for all the word: even for Kings, and every man in authority. Some man will (peradventure) say, that *for all*, must be understood of all the faithfull. Which cannot be the Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words following, *viz for Kings*: seeing that Kings neither did then, nor in many ages after serve the living God, but continued obstinately in infidelity, which by course of succession they had received. Thus far *Chrysost.*

Our Modern Reformers teach us that which *Paul* and *Chrysost.* neither knew nor beleaved, that wicked Princes are not to be prayed for, but to be resisted, &c.

See the preface before Basilic. Dor.

When the faction of *Eutiches* had prevailed against the Catholiques, *Leo* the first, had no other remedy than Prayers to God, sighs, teares and petitions to the Emperor: *Omnes partium nostrarum Ecclesie*, &c. All the Churches of these parts, all we Priests, even with sighs and teares, beseech your Majesty, to command a generall Synode to be held in *Italy*, that all offences beeing remooved, there may remaine, neither error in Faith, nor division in Love. Favor the Catholiques, grant liberty to protect the Faith against Heretiques, defend the state of the Church from ruin, that Christ his right-hand may support your Empire. Thus far *Leo*.

Epist. 24. ad Theod. Imper.

When *Gregory* the great was accused for the murder of a Bishop in prison, he wrote to one *Sabinianus*, to cleare him to the Emperor and Empreffe. *Breviter suggeras serenissimis Dominis meis*: You may briefly enforme my soveraigne Lord and Lady, that if I their servant, would have busied my self with the death of the *Lombards*, that Nation would by this time have had neither Kings, nor Duks, nor Earles, and should have been in great confusion and division: but because I stood in aw of God, I was ever afraid to meddle with the shedding of any mans blood. So far *Gregory*.

Epist. lib. 7. Epist. 1.

These *Lombards* were Pagans, invaders of the Countrey, ransackers of the City, persecutors of the Saints, robbers of the Church, oppressors of the poore: whom *Gregory* the first might, and would not destroy, *quia Deum timuit*, because he feared God. It is very like, that his successor *Gregory* the 7, feared neither God nor man, when he erected the papal crozier against the regall scepter, and read the sentence of deprivation against the Emperor *Henry*: *Ego auctoritate Apostolica*, &c. I by the power Apostolicall, do bereave

Carol. Si-
gon. de
Regno It.
l.9. in vita
Hen. 3.

Henry of the *German* Kingdome, and do deprive him of all subjection of Christian men, absolving all men from the allegiance, which they have sworn unto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the Peeres of the Empire have elected, may govern the Kingdome: I grant all men, that shall serve him against the Emperor, forgiveness of their sins, in this life and in the life to come. As I have for his pride dejected *Henry* from the Royall dignity, so I do exalt *Rodolph* for his humility, to that place of Authority. Thus far *Gregory* the 7.

Benno
Card m
vii, Greg 7.

It is no wounder, that *Gregory* his chaire clave a sunder, as some writers affirme, at the giving of this sentence; because the proud Pope, and his wicked retinue, were too heavy a burthen for *Peters* steele of humility to beare.

*The fourth Chapter proveth the Immunity of Kings by the
Fathers of the third 300 yeares.*

After the death of *Gregory* the great, which was about the year of our Lord 604. *Sabinianus* did succeed him, who lived but one yeare, after whom came *Boniface* the 3, which obtained of *Phocas* to be called *Universal Bishop*; since that time *perit virtus Imperatorum & pietas Pontificum*, the Emperours waxed weak, and the Bishops wicked. What the judgement of those Fathers then was, concerning subjection to wicked Kings, I will make evident by the testimony of *Gregorius Turonensis*, *Isidorus*, *Damasceus*, *Beda*, *Fulgentius*, *Leo* the 4, and the Fathers assembled in a Council at *Toledo* in *Spain*.

Gregory Turonensis, acknowledgeth such an absolute power in *Childerick* a most wicked King of *France*, as was free from all controll of man. *Si quis de nobis (Rex) iustitia limites transcendere voluerit*, &c. If any one of us (O King) do passe the bonds of justice, you have power to correct him, but if you exceed your limit, who shall chastise you? We may speake unto you; if you list not to bearken, who can condemn you, but that great God, who hath pronounced himself to be righteous? *Hactenus ille.*

Isidorus saith no lesse for the immunity of the Kings of *Spain*. Let all earthly Princes know, that they shall give account of the Church which Christ hath committed to their protection. Yea, whether the peace and discipline Ecclesiasticall be advanced, by
faith-

faithfull Kings, or dissolved by the unfaithfull, he will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So far *Isidor*,

John Damascene pleadeth not only for the Exemption of wicked Kings themselves, but also of their Deputies. The Governours Parallel (saith he) which Kings create, though they be wicked, though they be theeves, though they be unjust, or otherwise tainted with any crime, must bee regarded. Wee may not contemne them, for their impiety: but must reverence them, because of their authority, by whom they were appoynted our Governours. So farre he.

Fulgentius saith, that no kind of Sedition can stand with Religion. *Cum pro nostra fide libere respondemus.* &c. When we answer freely for our profession, we ought not to be taxed with the least subjection of disobedience or contumely, seeing we are not un-mindfull of the Regall dignity, and do know, that we must feare God, and honour the King, according to the Doctrine of the Apostle, Give to each one his due, feare to whom feare, honour to whom honour appertaineth. Of the which feare and honour Saint *Peter* hath delivered unto us the manifest knowledge, saying, As the servants of God, honour all men. love brotherly fellowship, feare God, honour the King. Thus farre *Fulgentius*.

*Fulgentius ad
Thrasim
Reg.*

1 Pet. 2. 7.

Our Countreiman *Beaune*, for his great learning called *Venerable*, is of the same mind. *David* (saith he) for two causes spared *Saul*, who had persecuted him most maliciously. First, for that he was his Lord, annoynted with holy oyle. And secondly, to instruct us by morall precepts, that wee ought not to strike our governours, (though they unjustly oppresse us) with the sword of our lips: nor presume slanderously, to teare the hemme of their superfluous actions. So far he.

Sam. 24.

Leo the fourth about the yeare 845, agnified all subjection to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I do professe and promise (saith *Leo*) to observe and keepe unviolably, as much as lieth in me, for the time present and to come, your Imperial ordinances and commandments: together with the decrees of your Bishops, my predecessors: If any man inform your Majesty otherwise, know certainly, that he is a lyer. So far *Leo*.

*Cap. de
cap. 1. dist.
13.*

The Bishops of Spaine assembled in a Nationall Councell at *Toledo*, made this Decree against Perjury and Treason. *Quicunque amodo ex nobis*: Whosoever among us shall from this time forward, violate the oath which he hath taken for the safeguard

*Concil. Tol.
1. Can. 2
in a. ann.
Dom. 636.*

of this Countrey, the state of the *Goyse* nation, and the preservation of the Kings Majesty: whosoever shall attempt the Kings death, or deposition: whosoever shall by tyrannicall presumption aspire to the Regall Throne; let him be accursed before the Holy Spirit, before the blessed Saints, let him be cast out of the Catholike Church, which he hath polluted by perjury, let him have no Communion with Christian men, nor portion with the just, but let him be condemned with the Devill and his angels eternally, together with his complices, that they may be tyed in the bond of damnation, which were joynd in the society of sedition. Thus far the Fathers in that Synod.

I conclude therefore with these learned Fathers, that it is not for the people, other wise then with humility and obedience, to controul the actions of their Governors: but their duty is only to call upon the God of Heaven, and so submit themselves to his mercy, by whose ordinance the Scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enjoyeth the Crown, whether he be good or bad. A right of deposing, must be either in him that hath an higher power, which is only God: or in him, that hath better right to the Crown, which the Pope cannot have, because he is a stranger: nor the Peeres or people, because they are subjects. Be the King for his Religion impious, for his Government unjust, for his Life licentious, the subject must endure him, the Bishop must reprove him, the Councillor must advise him, all must pray for him, and no mortall man hath authority to disturbe or displace him, as may evidently be seene by the Chapter following.

The first Chapter confirmeth this Doctrine by the Fathers of the fourth 300 yeares.

IN this age of the Church, the Popes exalted themselves above all that is called God, and upon private displeasures and quarrels, did curse and ban Princes, incensing their neighbour-Nations, and perswading their own Subjects to make war against them, as if Christ had ordeined his Sacraments, not to be seales of Grace, and helps of our Faith, but hookes to catch Kingdoms, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Pope's favour. How far these Popish practises, did displeate the godly and learned, I will shew by *S. Bernard*, *Waltramus* Bishop of *Nanumberg*, the Epistle Apolegeticall of the Church of *Leige* against

gainst *Paschalis* the Pope, and the Author of *Henry* the fourth his Life.

Saint *Bernard*, in one of his Sermons upon the words of *Christ*, *I am the Vine*, commendeth the answer of a certaine King, *Bene quidam Rex, cum percussus humana sagitta, &c.* It was well said of a King when he was shot into the body with an arrow, and they that were about him, desired him to be bound untill the arrow's head were cut out, for that the least motion of his body would endanger his life; no, (quoth he) it doth not beleeem a King to be bound, let the Kings power be ever safe and at liberty. And the same Father in an Epistle to *Ludovicum Crassum* the King of *France* teacheth subjects, how to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis de Regno vestro de anima & Corona vestra facere placuerit*: Whatsoever you please to do with your Kingdom, your soule, or your Crown, we that are the children of the Church cannot endure or dissemble the injuries, contempt, and conculcation of our mother, Questionlesse we will stand and fight even unto death in our mothers behalte, and use such weapons, as wee may lawfully, I meane not Swords and Speares, but Prayers and Teares to God.

Bernard
Epist. 221.

When *Gregory* the 7, had deposed *Henry* the 4, he gave away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* Duke of *Saxony*, that was a sworn subject to that distressed Emperor; which *Rodolph*, in a battaile against his Sovereigne Lord, lost his right-hand, and gained a deadly wound. After his death, the Pope made one *Hermanus* King of *Germany*, who enjoyed his Kingdom but a little time, for he was slaine with a stone, which a woman threw upon him from a turret, as he made an assault (in sport) against his own castle, to try the valour of his Souldiers. Then did *Egbertus*, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall Throne, whereon he sat but a while: for as he stepped aside from his Army into a Mill, to rewe himself in the heat of the day, he was discovered by the Miller to the Emperor's friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly burly in that State, *Waltheramus* a godly Bishop, wrote to one *Ludovicus*, an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperor, whom the Pope had deposed. *Waltheram* by the grace of God, that he is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offereth himselfe in all things serviceable. Concord is profitable to every Realme, and far more much to be desired: these vertues are the mother of devotion, and the consecration of all honesty. But whosoever seeketh after civill dissention

Ex vita
Henr. 4.
qua habetur in fasciculis
culorum
scilicet in
Col. m. x.
impresso.

*Epist. Wald-
que habe-
tur in ap-
pendice Ma-
rian, Scot.*

sention and incenseth other to the effusion of blood, he is a murder-
er and partaketh with him, who gaping for blood, goeth about
seeking whom he may devour: The worthy vessell of election,
that was taken up to the third Heaven, protesteth, saying, Let e-
very soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power
but from God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of
God. If that be true (which some men prate among women and
the vulgar sort) that we ought not to be subdued to the Kingly
power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that every soule
must submit himselfe under power and superiority. Can the truth
lye? Did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle? Why do we
provoke the Lord? Are we stronger than he? Doth not he thinke
himselfe stronger than the Lord, the resisteth the ordinance of God?
Seeing there is no power but of God: What saith the Prophet?
Confounded be they that strive against the Lord, and they that re-
sist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermanus, Egbertus*, with many o-
ther Princes, resisted the ordinance of God, in *Henry* the Empe-
ror, but loe they are confounded, as though they had never beene,
for as their end was ill, their beginning could not be good, &c.
Hac ille.

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditious subjects,
which his predecessors *Gregory* and *Urbanus* had armed against
Henry, that worthy Emperor: did perswade the Emperor's own
son, against all Law of God, Nature and Nations, to rebell against
his father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperors part, against
this young Prince, for the which he was excommunicate, his
Church interdicted, and *Robert* Earle of *Flanders* commanded by
the Pope, as he hoped to have the forgiveness of his sins, and the sa-
ve of the Church of *Rome*, to destroy that Bishop and his false
Priests.

*Epist. Leodi-
ensium apud
Simanem
Scard.*

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommuni-
cation, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an Apology for
themselves about the yeare 1106. We are excommunicate (say they)
because we obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord
the Emperor. These are the beginnings of sorrow; for Satan bee-
ing loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a division between
the Prince and the Priest: who can justly blame the Bishop that
taketh his Lords part, to whom he hath sworn allegiance? Perju-
ry is a great sin, whereof they cannot be ignorant, that by new
schisme and novell traditions do promise to absolve subjects from
the guilt of perjury, that forswear themselves to their Lord the
King, &c.

In

In the progresse of their Apology they determine three great questions.

First, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings?

Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offended against Faith, unity or good manners?

And thirdly, what remedy subjects have against their Kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti Spiritus, &c.* If any man, having respect to the Spirit of God, shall turn over the old and new Testament, he shall plainly find that Kings, ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether we consider the etimology of their names, or the nature of their excommunication. Even til this day hath this point been questioned, and never determined. Kings may be admonished and reprov'd, by such as be discreet and sober men, for Christ the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his own stead, hath reserved them to his own judgement, &c.

Their answer to the second question, is grounded on the testimony of Saint *Augustine*, the practise of Princes, and the authority of *Paul*, Kings (say they) and Emperors by their publique Lawes, have forbidden heretiques, to enjoy any wordly possession. Wherefore seeing we are no heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to Kings and Emperors to punish heresies, why doth our Lord *Paschalis* send *Robert*, his armour-bearer, to destroy the possessions and to overthrow the villages of the Churches, which in case they deserved destruction, ought to be destroyed by the Edict of Kings and Emperors, which cary the sword, not without good cause? &c.

For answer to the third question, they shew by sundry places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe against evill Princes, than prayer and patience. *Nil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus, &c.* We will for the present say nothing in defence of our Emperor, but this we say, though he were as bad as you report him to be. wee would endore his government, because our sins have deserved such a Governor. Even such a Prince ought not to be resisted by violence, but endured by patience and prayer. *Moses* brought many plagues upon *Pharaoh*, whose heart God had hardened, but it was by prayer and the lifting up his hands to heaven. And *S. Paul* requirerh prayers to be made for all men, for Kings and such as are in authority: which Kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Jeremy*, wrote unto the

Epist. Leod. Jews, which were captives unto the King of *Babylon*, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon*, and *Balthazar* his son, that their dayes in earth may be as the dayes of Heaven, &c. *S. Paul* teacheth why we ought to pray for evill Kings namely, that under them we may lead a quiet life. It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles doctrine: it were propheticall to follow the Prophet, &c. Thus far they in their *Epistle Apologeticall*.

*Vita Hen. 4
quo supra.*

He that wrote the life of this Emperor *Henry* the 4, an auncient, a modest, and an impartiall relator of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practises, and the *Germanes* tumults against their said Sovereigne Lord: *Magnam munda documentum datum est.* A great instruction was given to the World, that no man should rise against his master. For the hand of *Rodolph* being cut off, shewed a most just punishment of perjury; he feared not to violate his fidelity sworn to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other wounds had not become sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellious, the fault of rebellion might be perceived. Thus far he.

The sixth Chapter proveth the same by the testimony of the Writers from the 1200 yeares downward.

I Will for conclusion produce *Otho Frisingensis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip the faire* King of *France*, the *Parliament* of *England*, in the time of *Edward* the 1, *Vincantius* and *Aeneas Silvius*, that after ward was Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*:

Otho Frisingensis in his *Epistle* dedicatory before his *Chronicle*.

Otho Frisingensis hath an excellent saying in his *Epistle* dedicatory, to *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Cum nulla persona mundialis invenitur qua mundi Legibus non subiaceat*, &c. Although no earthly man can be found, that is not subject to the Laws of the World, and in respect of subjection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed over Laws, are not restrained by them, but reserved to the examination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet, *Against thee only have I sinned*. It becommeth therefore a King, both in respect of the noble disposition of his mind, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to have God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, ever in his mind, and by all meanes possible to take heed, that he falls not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God: It is

Psal. 51. 5.

more

more fearefull for Kings, than for any other; because Kings have none but God himselfe above them, whom they need feare. It shall be so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely than other men. So far *Orho*.

Thomas Aquinas, (if the tractate *de Regimine Principum* be his) Aquin: *de regimine prin.* lib. 1. cap. 6. maketh three sorts of Kings; Kings by Election, Kings by Subordination, and Kings by Succession.

For the first, he saith, that they which did establish, may abolish.

For the second, we must have our recourse to him that did surrogate the subordinate King: as the Jews did to *Caesar* against *Herod*: for the last, his resolution is, *Recurrendum esse ad omnium Regem Deum*, that we must fly to God, the King of all Kings, in whose only power it is to mollifie the cruell heart of a Tyrant. And that men may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sin; for wicked Princes, by Divine permission are exalted to punish the sins of the people, *tollenda est igitur culpa ut cesset tyrannorum plaga*, we must therefore remove our sins, that God may take away his punishment. Thus far *Thomas*.

Gratianus, which compiled the Decrees, is very peremptory, that the Bishop of *Rome* ought not to meddle with the temporall sword, the state of Common-wealths, or the change of Princes. He saith nothing indeed *de Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and a 100 yeares after him, never dreamed of any such authority. *Cum Petrus qui primus Apostolorum a Domino fuerat electus, materialem gladium exerceret*: When *Peter* whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drew the material sword, to defend his Master from the injuries of the Jews, he was commanded to sheath his sword: *For all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*. As if *Christ* should have said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine aunccestors to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall sword, hereafter thou must put up that sword into his place, and draw the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, to slay the old man: whosoever beside the Prince, and without his authority; that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, beareth not the sword in vaine, to whom every soule must be subject, whosoever (I say) without or beside the Princes authority, beareth the sword, shall perish by the sword. Thus far *Gratian*.

About the yeare 1300 began a quarrell between *Boniface 8.* and *Philipus Pulcher* the French King, about the collation of Benefices, Prebends and other Ecclesiasticall promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the said King, as followeth: *Boniface* Bishop,

the servant of Gods Servants, to his well-beloved Son *Philip*, by Gods grace King of *France*, greeting and blessing Apostolicall. Feare God and keepe his Law: We give thee to understand that thou art subject to us both in Spirituall things, and Temporall, and that no gift of benefices or prebends belongeth to thee. If thou have in thy hand any vacant, keep the profits of them to the Successors and if thou hast bestowed any, we decree the collation void, and recall it, how far soever it hath proceeded. Whosoever beleeveth otherwise, we account him a foole: Dated at *Lateran* the fourth of the Calends of *December*, and in the 6. yeare of our Papacy. King *Philip* returned his hautinesse, a correspondent answer, viz. *Philip* by the grace of God, King of *France*, to *Boniface* bearing himselfe for Pope, *Salutem modicam sive nullam Sciat tua maxima fatuitas*. Little health or none at all. Let thy great foolerie know, that in temporall things we are subject to no man. And that the gifts of prebends and Ecclesiasticall promotions, made and to be made by us, were and shall be Lawfull, both in time past and in time to come. For such collations belong to us in the right of our Crown: wherefore, we will manfully defend the possesseurs of the said dignities; and do judge them that thinke otherwise fooles and mad men. Given at *Paris* the Wednesday after *Candlemasse*, 1301. Questionlesse this King that did so scornefully reject the Popes challenge pretended from Christ, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, derived but from the people.

Philip.
Pulcher.

The same busie *Boniface*, of whom some write, that he came in like a *Foxe* craftely, rained like a *Lion* cruelly, and dyed like a *Dog* miserably, would take upon him the decision of a controversie between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, and commanded King *Edward* of *England* either to cease his claime, or to send his procurators to the Apostolike see, to shew his right, and to receive such order from the Pope, as justice and equity would require. The Lords and Commons then assembled in Parliamt at *Lincolne*, sent *Boniface* this answer in the Kings behalfe. Whereas our most dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, caused your Letters to be read openly before us, touching certaine occurrents of state between him and the King of *Scotland*, we did not a little marvaile at the contents thereof, so strange and wonderfull, as the like hath never been heard of. We know (most holy father) and it is well known in this Realme, and also to other nations, that the King of *England* ought not to make answer for his right before any judge Ecclesiasticall or secular: by reason of

of the free estate of his Royall dignity and custome, without breach at all times unviolably observed: Wherefore after treaty had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolution, that our said King ought not to answer in judgement, nor send procurators or messengers to your court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the Crown, the overthrow of the state of the Kingdome, and the breach of the Liberties, Customes, and Lawes of our Fathers, for the keeping whereof, we are bound by the duty of an oath, and will (by Gods help) maintain: and defend with all our power and strength, &c. Dated at *Lincolne Ann. Dom 1301. & anno, Edwards primi 29.* This was then the resolution of the state of this land: if our late sectaries *Popish* or *Puritan*, bring in any other Doctrine, we may not leave the cause of truth and obedience, whereon our forefathers walked to their commendation, to follow these new guides, in their by-paths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authority, to our destruction.

Vincentius in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place to dissuade from sedition and perjury. *Ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim; hec sola novitas (ne dicam heresis) nec aum è mundum emergerat.* li. 15. c. 84. I may speake with the favour of all good men, this meere novelty (if not heretic) was not sprung up in the world, that Preists should teach Subjects, that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an oath of fidelity unto them, they are not bound to keep it: Nay they that obey an evill Prince, are to be held as excommunicated, and all such as rebell against him, are free from the guilt of the crime of perjury. So far. he.

I will end this Chapter with *Aeneas Silvius*, who dyed in the year 1464. *Sit tandem finis litium,* Let there be an end of contentions, and one principall head to determine all Temporall matters: let the occasion of perpetuall debate be taken away, let men acknowledge themselves subject to their Prince, and give reverence to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on earth. As that which God commandeth must be obeyed without contradiction, so the Temporall Commandements of *Caesar*, may not be resisted. But let the Kings themselves beware that they oppress no man unjustly, nor give their people cause to cry to God against them, for the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof: he will not forget the cry of the poore: and for the sin of the Prince he translateth the Government from one Nation to another. There is nothing more offensive to the greatest God the King and Creator of Heaven and Earth, then the neglect of justice, and the oppression of the poore:

as the Psalmist saith, *The poore shall not alway be forgotten, and the patient abiding of the needy shall not perish for ever. So saith Sirivius.*

The Seventh Chapter sheweth the concord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition of Kings, and their discord about the meanes and persons to be employed in the execution of their Designements.

Childrick was depoled, and Pipine crowned King of France about the yeare 750. The truth of which History is this: *Chil-derick* voyd of all Princely gravity, gave himselfe over to pleasure and wantonneſſe, leaving the burthen of the State to *Pipinus*, that was his Lord *Marshall*: Who conspired with the Nobles, to advance himselfe, by the desition of the King his master. To let a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine to Pope *Zacharie*, to have his answer to this Question: *Whether should be King, be that bare the name and did nothing, or he that grverned the Kingdome?* The Pope gave sentence with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Chil-derick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned King.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite sectaries, do insist upon this fact of the French-men, to justifie their dangerous Doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against Princes. As Card. *Bellarmino de pontif.* lib. 2. cap. 17. *Thomas Harding* against the Apologie of the Church of ENGLAND fol. 181. Franc. *Fevardentius* in his Commentary on *Hester* page 85. *Boucher, alias Raynolds de iusta abdicatione Henrici.* 3 lib. 3. cap. 14. *Ficklerm de iure magistratuum* fol. 30. *Alexander Caverius patavinus de potestate Papa,* lib. 2 cap. 3. *D. Marta de temporali & spiritali pontificis potestate,* lib. 1. cap. 23. and *Doleman* in his conference touching succession parte. 1. cap. 3. page 48. And also these Puritans, *Christopher Goodman* in his treatise of obedience, pag. 53. *George Buchanan de iure Regni apud Scotos,* pag. 47. *Danaus de politia Christiana* lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221, *Brutus Celta de iure magistratuum* pag. 286. *Philadelphus dialogo* 2, pag. 65. Franc. *Hottomanus* in his *Francogallia* cap. 12. and *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi Regis* pag. 27.

De pontif. lib. 2. c. 17. Cardinall *Pellarmine* the grand-master of Controversies, cannot endure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the papall Authority.

Ceterum quod monachus iste (saith *Lambertus Danam*) whereas this

this monke *Bellarmino* contendeth that *Childerick* was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharius*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a private person, though he were Bishop of Rome. Will he ever be able to prove or defend his assertion? Can *Zacharie* have authority in France, being a stranger? Can he depose the publike Magistrate, being but a private person? or transerre that principality to *Pipin* that he hath no right unto? and commit so many sacriledges and impieties, stealing from *Childerick*, and giving to *Pipin* another mans right? authorising subjects to violate their oaths, which they had sworn to their King? transporting Kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth only belong to God to depose Kings, and dispose of Kingdoms? Thou maist see (*Bellarmin*) how many outrages this thy *Zachary* hath committed, beside that he did thrust his sickle into another mans harvest, and meddled with the Cobler beyond his Last, in that, being but a Priest, he took upon him the decision of the right of Kingdomes. Thus far *Danaus*, who is not so violent against the Pope, as he is virulent for the deposing power of *Peter*, or *States* of the Kingdom.

Resp. Da.
naxi ad Bel-
lar. l. 2. c. 17
pag. 316.

Danaus
pol. Ch. l. 1.
c. 3. pag.
414.

Men cannot say (as it is in the Proverb) *nimiam altercan lo veritatem amittitur*, seeing that in this opposition, the truth is not lost, but divided among them. For their premisses, brought together, will unavoidably conclude, that this deposing power, is neither in the Pope, the *Peter*, nor the People. Though it were, the reason of the seditious *Papists* and *Puritans*, *a facto, ad jus*, is sophisticall in the Schooles, where nothing can be concluded *ex meris particularibus*, of meere particular instances. Absurd in Law, *quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must do as the Law requireth, not as other men practise. Erroneous in Divinity, *non ideo quia factum credimus, faciendum credamus, ne violemus preceptum dum sectamur exemplum*: We may not do that, which hath been done by other men, least we break the Law of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policy, as my Lord of *Northampton*, the ornament of learning observeth. "The fly (saith that noble Earle) setting on the cart-wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in the way, as *Gregory* or *Zachary*, draw counsell to power, and make that fact their own which was hammered in the forge of ambition, contenauced with the colour of necessity, and executed by *Pepin*, a minister, that being weary of subordination, resolved by this trick, when the meanes were fitted and prepared to the plot, to make himselfe absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull,

August. ad
Consen. de
mendic. 9

if *ex factis singularibus*, it were lawfull to draw leaden rules, in their disgrace. Thus sae the Earle.

The eight Chapter sheweth the danger of this Doctrine, and the Originall of the Puritan position, concerning the power of statesmen to punish and depose Princes in Monarchies.

Law of
Monarch.
pag. 60.

THESE desperate attempts, suggested by the Devill, executed by the people, encouraged by the State, and approved by the Pope, must serve as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselves before God: *Qui non dabit Sanctos suos in captionem dentibus eorum*, who will not give his Saints for a pray to their teeth. For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgeteth himselfe in his duty to God, or in his vocation? But God with the greatnesse of the plague revengeth the greatnesse of his ingratitude.*

de reg. prin.
l. i. c. 6.

These practises therefore must be no president for Peers or People to follow, because God hath forbidden Christian subjects to resist, though Kings raigne as Tyrants; and commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of relieving the Commonwealth out of distresse, which is ever the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischief on it, and desolation on themselves: as (*Aquinas*) if he be the Author of the book *de regim. principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Esset multitudini periculosum & ejus rectoribus*: It were dangerous to subjects and governors, that any should attempt to take away the life of Princes, though they were Tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, do thrust themselves into that danger. And the government of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of Tyrants to good people. Wherefore the Kingdome, by this presumption would be rather in danger to forgo a good Prince, than a wicked Tyrant. So far *Thomas*.

They that are the authors or abettors of sedition, can neither avoyd shame in Earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Iudge do sometime permit Rebels, in his Justice to prevaile against Kings for their contempt of the Law of the highest, and the neglect of their own duty; The reward of Rebellion shall be no better than the recompence of Satan, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most

most true that as sick men, neer their death, have many idle fancies, so the World before the end thereof shall bee troubled with many errours: In these declining dayes of the World, many Countreys, Cities and Cantons, renounced their old government, and submitted themselves to such a new regiment as they best liked: for confirmation of which practises, there wanted not politike Divines, (what wine is so foure that some hedgegraps will not yeeld) to invest the people and Nobles with the power over Kings, to dispose of their Kingdomes.

Marsilius Patavinus saith; the deposition of a King, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of Rome, to any Priest, or to the Colledge of Priests, but to the universall multitude of the Subjects. So far he.

*Marsilius
P. tav. de
translat.
Imperii, c. 6*

From these, the Puritans have learned their error, of the power of States-men over Kings, then which, no opinion can be more dangerous: where the Nobility are as ready to practise, as the Puritan preachers are to prescribe. What presumption is it in men, to passe the bounds which God hath set them, to controll the wisdom of the Lord, and his unspeakable goodnesse, when he maketh tryall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyranny of cruell Kings, that they which are found patient in trouble, constant in truth and loyall in subjection, may be crowned with glory. Were we perswaded, that the hearts of Kings are in Gods hand, that the haire of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall us, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our Faith, the tryall of our constancy, or the punishment of our sin, we would as well admire the Iustice of God, in permitting Tyrants, that our sins may be judged, and punished in this world, as praise his mercy and favour, in giving rest to his servants, under the protection of godly and gracious Princes.

The ninth Chapter sheweth the generall consent of the Modern Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings, whom they call Tyrants.

THE Citizens of Geneva, changed the Government from a Monarchy to a Democracy, in the year of Christ 1536 In the which year, John Calvin came into that City, to visit his friend *Faustus*; And was chosen the publike reader of Divinity. At his first coming thither, he published his *Teologicall Institutions*; Wherein he doth very learnedly and Christianly intreat of the authority of

In Kit. l. 4. c.
20 § 31.

Princes, and the duty of Subjects. One only place is harsh, and dangerous: delivered in obscure and doubtfull tearmes, to excuse (as I conceive) the outrage of the Citizens against their soveraign Magistrates. His words are these, *Si qui sunt populares Magistratus, ad moderandam regum libidinem constituti.*

Page. 119.

Christopher Goodman published a Treatise of obedience at Geneva, not without the very good liking and approbation of the best learned in that City, 1557. Wherein he affirmeth, That if Magistrates transgresse Gods Law themselves, and command others to do the like, they lose that honor, and obedience which otherwise is due unto them: and ought no more to be taken for Magistrates: but to be examined and punished as private transgressors. So far Goodman.

Page. 106.

1577, Came forth the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people; every privat man is subject to the Prince; the Multitude and the Officers of State which represent the Multitude, are Superiors to the Prince, yea they may judge his actions, and if he make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So far he.

Page. 72.

Anno 1588, Hermanus Renecherus published observations upon the *1 Psalm*, wherein he investeth the *Presbiterie* with all the *Popes* prerogatives. Concerning the *Presbyterian power* over Kings, this is his notable annotation: God (saith he) hath ordained the Civill Magistrate for the good of the Ecclesiasticall order, therefore the Ecclesiasticall State is the highest throne of Gods earthly Kingdome, the supream Seate of all excellency, and the chiefe Court wherein God himselfe is president, to distribute eternall gifts to his servants. Whereas the politicall Empire is but as it were an inferior bench, wherein Iustice is administred according to the prescription of the Ecclesiasticall soverainty. Thus far Renecherus.

Loco 76 p.
844.

I will make an end with William Bucanius, whose book was published at the request and with the approbation of Beza and Goularism, maine pillars of the Church of Geneva, 1602. They (saith Bucanius) which have any part of Office in the publike administration of the Common-wealth, as the Overseers, Senators, Consuls, Peeres, or Tribunes, may restrain the insolency of vill Kings. Thus far he.

This Puritan dangerous error, is directly repugnant to the Law, the Gospell, the precepts of the Apostles, the practise of Martyrs, and the doctrine of the Fathers, Councils, and other Clasicall Writers, as I have proved in the 6 former Chapters, wherein the holy Texts of Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Puritans* do damnably abuse

abuse against the Ecclesiastical and Civil authority of Kings, shall be answered by the godly Protestants: whose labour God used to reforme his Church since the yeare of our Lord, 1517. and by the ancient Fathers and Orthodoxall Writers in every age of the Church.

Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Iohannes Baptista Ficklerus*) are the defenders and protectours of the Lawes and Rights of the State, and have authority (if need require) to correct and punish the *De jury magist. fol. 18.* upreame King. So far *Ficklerus*.

An English fugitive, which was the Author of the booke *de iurista abdicatione Henrici Tertij*, affirmeth, That all the Majesty of the Kingdome, is in the assembly of Statesmen, to whom it belongeth to make Covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to war and peace, to bridle the Kingly power, and settle all things that belong to publike Government. So far he. *lib. 3 c. 8.*

And the most seditious *Doleman* saith, that all humane Law and order Naturall, Nationall, and Positive, doth teach, that the Common wealth, which gave Kings their authority for the common good, may restraints or take the same from them if they abuse it to the common ill: so far *Doleman*: and of this opinion are many other as may appeare by *D. Morton* by whom they are discovered and refuted. *Part. 1. c. 4. pag. 71.*

How far this gangrene will extend, I know not. The Kings of Christendome are dayly crucified, (as Christ their Lord was) between two theeves; I meane the *Papist* and *Puritan*, which have prepared this deadly poyson for Princes, whom they in their own irreligious and traitorous hearts, shall condemne for tyranny. I hope neither Peeres nor People will be so fond to beleieve them, or wicked to follow them, which pretend the Reformation of Religion, and defend the subversion of Christian States. If inferiour officers, or the publike assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them upon, (as they will avoyd everlasting damnation) not to derive a title from *Rome*, *Lacedemon*, or *Athens*, (as *Calvin* doth, whom the rest follow) but from the hill of *Sion*, and to plead their interest from the Law or the Gospell. *Si mandatum non est presumptio, & ad poenam proficiet, non ad premium: quia ad contumeliam pertinet conditoris, ut contempto Domino colantur servi, & spreto Imperatore, adorentur Comites.* If their opposition against Kings be not commanded of God, it is presumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the Creator of all States, to despise Lords and

*Augusti in
quest mixt.*

Pro. 24. 11.

and honour servants, to contemne the Sovereigne Emperour, and to reverence the Peeres of the Empire. So far *Augustine. My sonne* (saith *Salomon*) *fearre God and the King, and meddle not with the seditions: for their destruction shall come soaainly, and who knowes the end of them?* The conclusion of all is, That Kings have supream and absolute authority under God on Earth, not because all things are subject to their pleasure, which were plaine tyranny, not Christian Sovereignty: but because all persons, Within their Dominions, stand bound in Law, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselves, are no way subject to the controule censure, or punishment of any earthly man, but reserved by speciall prerogative to the most fearfull and righteous judgement of God, with whom there is no respect of persons. He whose servants they are, *will beat them with a rod of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessell*, if they abuse that great, and foueraigne power, (which God hath endued them withall,) to support error, to suppress truth, and to oppresse the innocent. God, of his great mercy grant us the spirit of truth, to direct us in all loyalty, that we being not seduced by these seditious Sectaries, may grow in grace, stand fast in obedience, embrace love, follow peace and encrease more and more in the knowledge of our Lord Iesus Christ. To whom be all praise, power, and dominion now and for ever. Amen.

FINIS.